

CHAPTER 8

CLAN ENDOGAMY AND PATRILATERAL PARALLEL COUSIN
MARRIAGE IN TONGU, GHANA+

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Introduction

Intra-clan marriage with preferential parallel cousin marriage is a rare phenomenon in African marriage systems. Radcliffe-Brown's comment on the example of the Botswana (Tswana) some twenty years ago leaves no doubt that this is a rare case indeed. In African systems of Kinship and Marriage he refers to the Botswana parallel cousin marriage as 'exceptional in Africa' and as being of an 'unusual type amongst indigenous African peoples.' But, of course, he concludes that 'such exceptions are of great theoretical importance' (Radcliffe-Brown, 1950). Schapera, to whom we owe the main work on the Botswana marriage system, describes them as having "fewer marriage restrictions than other Bantu-speaking peoples of Africa....they lack exogamous units....and allow marriage between first cousins of all kinds and various other close relatives" (Schapera, 1950). Parallel-cousin marriage is better known among the Arabs and their immediate Moslem neighbours (Murphy et al 1959). The reverse phenomenon of clan exogamy and cross-cousin marriage is wide-spread in Africa. Naturally, the social factors which enhance these forms of marriage are of interest to the social anthropologist.

This paper attempts to do two things: firstly, to show proof that parallel cousin marriage indeed obtains among the Tongu; secondly, to find the explanations for this phenomenon.

Background

The Tongu represent a section of the Ewe-speaking

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people who occupy south-eastern Ghana, directly east of the Volta river. Including the Ewe of south-eastern Togo, the total Ewe population is nearly one million and a half. The unity of this group lies mainly in their common language and their traditions of migration from a common place in Western Nigeria. Linguistically, they are divided into four mutually intelligible dialectal groups, and Tongu represents one of these.

A remarkable feature of the Ewe social system was its lack of political unity: not even the members of one dialectal group ever came together to form a single political unit. On the contrary, they were fragmented into a number of small independent political units, each with its own paramount ruler and sub-chiefs. The Tongu Division has thirteen of such paramountcies, including the Tefle chiefdom which was selected for studies in depth. The total population of Tongu in 1948 was 103,072 which fell sharply to 86,000 in 1960 - a total decrease of 16.6%. By 1970, there was an appreciable recovery with a total of 97,363.

A riparian community, the Volta is the main source of livelihood in Tongu. Before the harnessing of the river Volta at Akosombo, the area experienced heavy seasonal floods between August and October when the flood waters irrigated the fields for agriculture and stocked the numerous creeks and lagoons with fish. The retreating waters left behind a fine alluvial deposit. In October, the shallow waters made it easy for women to dive for clams, an industry which has been a monopoly of their sex. Thus the Volta affected almost all aspects of their economy. Today, of course, the Volta has been harnessed and the flood waters have been kept in check. In fact, since 1966 when the dam was completed, the farm-lands have become less fertile and fresh-water fishing from the creeks has become virtually extinct. Fewer clams are now consumed or sold. The result is that the Tongu are now emigrating to the shores of the Volta lake where the fishing industry is said to be booming. This type of migrant fishing is different from the earlier pattern of labour migration which supplemented their traditional subsistence farming. In the latter, they always came back for their annual festivals and mortuary rites. In the present system of out-migration, it seems that the traditional homes are being gradually depopulated in favour of the settlements around the lake.

Kinship System

In the study of near-kin marriage, the kinship structure is intimately related to the marriage system itself. The Tongu kinship system is patrilineal, the patriclan (hlo) being its outstanding feature in the social system. Each traditional area in Tongu has two or more of such integrated kinship units. In the capital township of the particular chiefdom that I studied in depth, I found seven clan groups. The village itself was divided into three wards: the old quarter representing the original settlement from which the population proliferated to the other wards; the new quarter representing settlements along the main trunk road from Accra; the commercial quarter representing the settlement which developed around the Volta¹. The old quarter was sub-divided into seven units, each unit representing the abode of a clan group. In each clan territory was a conspicuous clan compound which housed the clan shrines as well as the clan chief or his representative. Also conspicuous in the compound was the yoxo (xo = house; yofe = funeral), the clan funeral home, the centre of all clan mortuary rites. Funerals were organised strictly on clan basis. When a man died in one of the satellite villages his remains were conveyed to his clan compound at the capital for the necessary mortuary rites and burial in the clan cemetery. The second funeral rites were similarly organised. At least in the capital township, one could say without equivocation that the clan was a localised group. Later, I found that the satellite villages were also clan-structured, but on a different pattern. A village and its surrounding farmlands were said to belong to a particular clan, although, in practice it might include settlers from other clan groups. Even when the original core-group of settlers was outnumbered by other clan groups, the village and its farmlands still belonged to the clan owners of the village whose ancestors built the first hut to start the settlement. The headman of the village would always be elected from this clan group and requests for land for farming or housing would be addressed to this local clan representative. Thus farmlands and creeks, like village settlements, were vested in clan groups. Members of the clan enjoyed common rights in creeks and ponds and exclusive usufructuary rights in land through their respective clan segments or patrilineages.

In theory, a clan was divided into a fixed number of sub-clan groups, each group representing the descendants of one of the sons of the original founder of the clan. In practice this was not always so. In the event of clan fission resulting from intra-clan friction, the residual units often had no practical evidence to support their theory. Nevertheless the important fact remained that clan segmentary units were recognised.

The sub-clan was called agbanu, lit. the side of the bowl. The members of the clan were conceived as kinsmen eating from a common bowl. Each member of the clan had his assigned position by the bowl. The particular side of the bowl from which one dipped into the common dish was one's agbanu. The agbanu was the clan member's point of reference to the clan. A clan chief was appointed from a specified royal agbanu of the clan or by rotation from two or more agbanuwo (plural of agbanu). The Paramount Chief was similarly appointed from the royal agbanu of the royal (Nyigome) clan. Various national (Chieftdom) offices vested in clan groups were organised on agbanu basis. When the groups of agbanuwo were unable to resolve their intra-clan differences the hidden polarities in the clan structure immediately surfaced and resulted in clan fission.

An agbanu could stand for a maximal lineage, but it is also appropriate to identify the lineages as the segmentary units of an agbanu. Each lineage has a genealogical depth of at least six generations.

Although the patrilineage, tofome, is probably the only kin-group which can trace descent to a known ancestor, the clan is often projected as the most important kin group. A man speaks more often of miafe hla, our clan, than miafe fome, our family, our lineage. This is due to the varied corporate functions of the clan. If death occurred in a satellite village, the lineage's responsibility for the corpse ceased when it arrived in the clan compound. All ancestral rites were similarly performed by the clan as a unit, and as a method of emphasising their descent from a common ancestor and thus perpetuating the kinship character of the clan. By the appointment of clan chief, the clan arrogated to itself important political functions. Thus, the clan, as a corporate group, integrated the social, political and ceremonial aspects of life and gave members

a sense of unity.

The other feather of the clan which is yet to be emphasized is its inherent division of interests which enhanced its segmentary character. When segments of the clan failed to resolve differences often arising from competition for limited clan offices, the result was fission, of course preceded by the polarization of segmentary units. During the period of study, there were in theory, seven clan groups, in practice there were eight separate and distinct groups. Official recognition for eight is but a matter of time. I noticed that one clan group had been rent assunder over differences in the appointment of the village chief priest. When differences could not be resolved each faction installed its own chief priest and for more than twelve years, two chief priests were forced upon the Chiefdom. Since then the two groups had drifted apart. During the period of study it seemed the only things they shared in common were their mutual hostility and the claim to descent from a common apical ancestor. This type of fission over clan offices seemed a characteristic feature of Tongu clan structure. No chiefdom had a fixed number of clans because clans tended to grow in number as a result of segmentation and fission, although it might take a long time for fission to be accepted by the wider community as an accomplished fact.

In sum, the localised patriclan in Tongu was characterised by two parallel phenomena: Firstly, there was a strong feeling of corporate unity expressed by kinship behaviour and by participation in common social, political and ritual activities. Secondly, there was persistent friction in the segmentary units of the clan. The second phenomenon was clearly inconsistent with the declared objectives of the clan. It was a threat to the survival of the clan as a corporate group. According to informants, fission rendered the clan small and weak and unable to compete effectively with the other clan groups in the community. This tendency must be arrested if the clan was to continue to fulfil its raison d'être. It seemed that intra-clan marriage made a valued contribution to this cause.

Kinship Language

I now turn to a brief consideration of the language of kinship which is relevant to the subject of marriage

among near kinsmen, or 'functional endogamy', to use Levi-Strauss' terminology.

The Tongu kinship terminology is primarily classificatory. The typical forms of relationship within the nuclear family are generalized and extended to members outside the group, distinguishing for sex, generation and relative age. Father is equated with father's sibling group (males and females) but mother is equated with only her female sibling group; her brothers are distinguished. Mother's co-wives are equated with mother's sisters. Siblings are equated with cousins according to the Hawaiian cousin terminology. A sibling of either parent or both parents is called novi; literally mother's child, but age and sex distinctions might be drawn. A cousin through either parent is also referred to as novi. There are no terminological distinctions between cross-cousins and parallel cousins.

Tongu kinship terms are commonly based on father's lineage and mother's lineage, but social usage extends these terms to members of the patriclan. Thus all clansmen of Ego's father's generation are treated as Ego's father's siblings, distinguishing for age and sex. All clansmen of Ego's own generation are sibling. This implies that clan kinship is not rigidly distinguished from lineage kinship as far as the linguistic usages are concerned. This is of immediate relevance to Tongu intra-clan marriage. Marriages outside the lineage but within the clan are treated as marriage among distantly related kinsmen.

Husband's father and mother's father are designated as to; mother-in-law of either spouse is loxo. Wife's brother is nyo, but husband's brother is srönye, my husband (big or small). Husband's sister is female husband.

Marriage Regulation

I have already implied that Tongu kinship system, particularly the clan structure, affects sexual relations. On the clan level marriage is sanctioned and encouraged among clansmen, probably as a means of combating friction within segments of the clan and the polarity of that structure. The same general principle applies to the lineage. But one cannot have sexual

relations with all kinsmen in the lineage and clan. Specific rules govern sexual conduct.

The kin whom a Tongu is specifically forbidden to marry include firstly, all women to whom he is related in the direct line of descent. A man cannot marry his grandmother, his mother, his daughter or granddaughter. Similar prohibitions apply to full and half sisters. As far as I am aware, there was only one case in which an unmarried man (from Fievie Chiefdom) was reported to have had sex relations with a half sister. This was irregular and incestuous and their old father took immediate steps to expel them from his house. The siblings later travelled to Ashanti and settled down in a cocoa farm as migrant workers. In their absence, purificatory rites were performed.

A man is also forbidden to marry his parents' sisters and his own sisters' daughters because these are in the position of parents and daughters respectively.

Intra-clan and Near Kin Marriage

Except for these prohibitions, the rules governing marriage permit a man to marry within the patri-clan and the patri-lineage. He can marry any woman of his own generation within father's and mother's lineages. This gives him access to all cross-cousins and parallel cousins, including first cousins, from his own lineage and clan as well as mother's lineage. Below his own generation, he may marry a cousin's daughter. Marriage with a daughter of a true full or half sibling is prohibited. Stated in order of preference, marriage to cousins is as follows:

1. Tɔga-tɔdivisrɔ: father's brother's daughter marriage.
2. Tasi-nyinevisrɔ: father's sister's daughter marriage
3. Nɔga-nɔdisrɔ: mother's sister's daughter marriage
4. Tasi-nyinevisrɔ: mother's brother's daughter marriage

The idea of father's brother's daughter or mother's

TABLE I

Distribution of Marriages by Clan and Generation

| Generation | CLAN GROUP | | | | | | | | | % Total |
|------------|------------|------|---------|-------|------|--------|---------|-------|-------|---------|
| | Makpoe | Foyi | Nyigome | Fodze | De | Agbofu | Dzeavie | Other | Total | |
| 6th | 1 | 1 | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | 3 | 33.3 |
| 7th | 1 | - | - | 4 | - | 2 | - | - | 7 | 14.3 |
| 8th | 6 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | - | 1 | 8 | 23 | 26.1 |
| 9th | 13 | 11 | - | 2 | 7 | - | 1 | 29 | 63 | 20.7 |
| 10th | 4 | 3 | - | - | 2 | - | 1 | 2 | 12 | 33.3 |
| Total | 25 | 18 | 1 | 9 | 11 | 2 | 3 | 39 | 108 | 23.1 |
| % Total | 23.1 | 16.7 | .9 | 8.3 | 10.2 | 1.9 | 2.8 | 36.1 | 100% | - |

sister's daughter being very much like one's own sister, and therefore a bar to marriage - as indeed is the conceptualization among the Anlo - does not obtain.

This summarises the position on marriage regulations as presented by informants. We shall now attempt to see how these statements correspond with actual practice by examining available statistical evidence. The statistics are based partly on survey data and partly on genealogies collected from Tefle, the capital township of one of the Chiefdoms that I studied in depth.

Table I, which is based on genealogies from one of the principal clan groups (Makpe), shows the proportions of intra-clan marriages by generations. The original founder of the clan, Nate Buesi, is also the clan apical ancestor. At least from the point of view of my informant, any knowledgeable member of the group should be able to trace his ancestry directly to this ancestor². Nate Buesi had five sons and a daughter. From his generation to the fifth descending, there was scarcely any information on the particular type of marriage contracted. The information available concerned only the lineal antecedents themselves, and not their wives. Thus the history of clan marriages begins to unfold only at the sixth generation from the founding ancestor. This is the generation of Akoli whose three wives were all taken from the Tefle traditional area, presumably, from his own village. There was only one case of marriage from his own clan, Makpoe; the remaining two cases were from De and Foyi-Avenui. The latter was alleged to have broken off from Makpoe several years ago³. The seven children of Akoli, five sons and two daughters, were all married to local residents as the clan affiliation of their spouses suggests. There was but one case of intra-clan marriage. At the eighth generation, which is also the generation of my principal informant, Nyatuku Addo, the data became fuller. Out of 23 known marriages, six were from the Makpoe clan i.e. 26.1%. In the next generation, out of 63 marriages, 13 or 20.7% were intra-clan. Note that a further 17.4% marriages were contracted with Foyi-Avenui, the sister clan. This does not represent intra-clan marriage, but it is worth noting. Note also the proportionately large number of marriages contracted outside the chiefdom - 46%. The geographical mobility which has characterized Eweland as a whole is given expression at this generation which my informant himself

T A B L E II

Distribution of Wives by Age and Clan

| Clan Group | Age | | | | | |
|------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|-------|
| | 15-25 | 26-35 | 36-45 | 46-55 | 55 + | Total |
| Nyigome | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 18 |
| Makpoe | 6 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 14 |
| Foyi | 9 | 6 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 24 |
| De | 5 | 7 | 3 | - | 4 | 20 |
| Fodze | 11 | 10 | 4 | 3 | 5 | 37 |
| Agbofu | 4 | 2 | 1 | - | - | 7 |
| Dzeavie | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 7 |
| Other | 8 | 9 | 5 | 2 | - | 23 |
| Total | 49 | 41 | 27 | 14 | 19 | 150 |

described as 'the age of migrant cocoa-farming, off-shore fishing and trade'. The effect of literacy and education, though small, should be noted. Probably a few school-leavers who seek clerical job opportunities in the urban areas do marry away from home. Not much importance is attached to the tenth generation because of its size. Nevertheless, a third of the recorded marriages were from the Makpoe clan. In sum, the cases are few statistically - 108 cases spread over five generations - but they tend to support informants' claims that marriages within the patriclan is not an offence; it is customary. At least 23% of total marriages were intra-clan.

In spite of the few cases, the generational differences should be noted. Between the seventh and ninth generations there is positive evidence of a gradual decline in intra-clan marriage. The general impression is that since intra-clan marriage in Tongu is not culturally obligatory, it will decline as more opportunities develop for inter-tribal and sub-tribal contacts.

Some attempt has been made to relate these findings to practices within chiefly lineages by examining marriages within the Paramount Chief's own lineage. Data were collected on the Paramount Chief's own marriages and those of his children and grandchildren (the chief himself, Dugbaza IV, was a grand old man of about 90). Out of a total of 33 marriages contracted only 6 or 18.1% were from the chief's own clan, Nyigome. The intra-clan marriages are few, and compared to the Makpoe clan data, there seems to be no reason to believe that members of the chiefly lineage favour intra-clan marriage more than the commoners.

Table I also throws some light on local group marriage i.e. marriage among citizens of the Chiefdom. The percentage average for sixth to tenth generation is 80.5, which is quite high, but not unexpected. Of the chiefly lineage, out of 33 marriages, 24 or 73% were from amongst fellow citizens of the Chiefdom.

I now turn to the survey data on near kin marriage. Table II which is only of sampling interest, shows that the 150 cases in Table III have been drawn from all the seven clan groups and that they fall into the principal age groups. As one would expect, more than 50% come

T A B L E I I I

Main Types of Marriage between Near Kin
(First marriages only of 150 wives)

| Wife's relation to husband | No. | % |
|-----------------------------|-----|-------|
| Father's brother's daughter | 23 | 28 |
| Mother's sister's daughter | 8 | 9.8 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 25 | 30.5 |
| Mother's brother's daughter | 15 | 18.3 |
| Sister's daughter | 8 | 9.8 |
| Brother's daughter | 3 | 3.7 |
| Total | 82 | 100.1 |

from the 15-35 age group. Distribution by age and clan is desirable in order to determine to what extent one can generalize on the basis of the 150 cases, which were not randomly selected. On cousin marriages, Table III shows that there is some difference between stated preferences and actual practice. The order of preference, as provided by informants, gave first place to patrilateral parallel cousin marriage; but the actual order of frequency, as suggested in the Table, shows patrilateral cross-cousin marriage as taking first place. This is not very important since the numerical difference is quite small. What is really significant is that more than a quarter of all near-kin marriages, including marriage to a classificatory brother or sister's daughter, is with father's brother's daughter or patrilateral parallel cousins⁴. This confirms absolutely informants' statements that this type of marriage is not incestuous, and that it is highly desirable. It now remains to show why this type of marriage has been encouraged through the generations.

Discussion

Unlike cross-cousin marriage, which has some mythological support, there is nothing concrete to show how far back in time one can trace parallel cousin marriage. We shall first examine the actors' own views on the subject. The associated factors, at least from the actors' own point of view, are both economic and social. The most common explanation is that it keeps property within the lineage. This is also the reason most commonly advanced by the Arabs (Murphy et al, 1959). In the event of marriage to a brother's daughter the bridewealth payments are retained within the lineage. It is important to note among the Tongu that marriage within the lineage does not preclude the payment of the bridewealth⁵. According to informants, the only noticeable difference is that the marriage negotiations are conducted in a very cordial atmosphere. However, the economic explanation is not unique to parallel cousin marriage. Some of the African societies which practice cross-cousin marriage but not parallel cousin marriage also advance similar arguments in support of cross-cousin marriage. The matrilineal Ashantis are an example. When an Ashanti man gives his daughter in marriage to his sister's son who later becomes his heir, he expects that at least a part of his wealth will be spent on his daughter's welfare. So the economic

explanation cannot be unique to those societies which practise intra-clan and intra-lineage marriages.

Another reason why the economic explanation lacks point, as some students of the Arab societies have also pointed out, is that it tends to ignore the fact that the daughter of another family could well bring into the husband's group a most welcome inheritance (Murphy & Kasdan, 1959). If bridewealth payments are reciprocal, then it does not inflict economic hardship on the family of the groom. Losses through payments may be easily offset by receipts.

The second advantage from the point of view of the Tongu is that marriage within the lineage protects family secrets. The intimacies of married life, it is contended, are such that it is extremely difficult for a husband not to share the secrets of his lineage with his wife. Or at least it is difficult for a wife not to come by such secrets. Conflicts between lineages have been traced to the alleged ignoble roles of wives in this connection. Thus marriage within the lineage is seen as conflict-reducing - lessening inter-lineage and intra-clan conflicts. My only difficulty was that I could not put the finger on what constituted family secrets. The local Tongu expression which I have translated as family secrets is fomenya, literally 'family word'. I found no institutionalised fomenya which was handed down from one generation to another; there were no references to fomenya in their institutions or the processes of socialization other than the immediate marriage context in which the expression was brought home to me. Naturally I find myself unable to measure or determine its sociological impact on parallel cousin marriage. However, it does not seem to differ qualitatively from the economic explanation surrounding the bridewealth. What it amounts to is the loss of intangible family assets through marriage with an outsider.

The third major explanation for parallel-cousin marriage from the Tongu point of view is that such marriages are jurally more stable and reduce the incidence of divorce.⁶ This is a piece of evidence which can be readily tested by quantifiable data. We have found a fair ratio of near-kin group marriage in Tongu which must correlate with a low divorce rate. Table IV

T A B L E IV

Frequency of Marriage by Divorce

| Marriage Frequency | Frequency of Divorce | | | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|------|-------|--------|-------|
| | 0 | Once | Twice | Thrice | Total |
| Once | 92 | 5 | - | - | 97 |
| Twice | 14 | 25 | 3 | - | 42 |
| Thrice | - | 3 | 7 | - | 10 |
| Four X | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Total | 106 | 33 | 10 | 1 | 150 |

examines the actual practice. Out of a total of 215 marriages by 150 women, including secondary marriages, 56 had ended in divorce, representing at least 26% of total marriages. This is probably high for a society which practices functional endogamy specifically to enhance marital stability. Thus, at least overtly, the practice does not support the argument.

In sum, the Tongu arguments for parallel cousin marriage are not sociologically convincing and we must look for explanations of structural implication⁷. As Levi-Strauss has cautioned, informants' accounts of institutions must be taken into consideration but they may be no more than rationalizations and reinterpretations not to be confused with the actual social organization (Levi-Strauss, 1968).

Let us first look at the argument against parallel cousin marriage in the societies which practice cross-cousin marriage only. The main argument is that such marriages destroy the necessary conditions of their stability and continuity; they are incompatible with the established lineage relations. Cross-cousins, on the other hand, belong to different groups in the system of clans and lineages. Therefore, marriage between them, even though functionally endogamous, is not incestuous or disruptive of existing kinship ties.

The work of Barth on the Kurdistan Arabs is a direct negation of the dysfunctional argument against parallel cousin marriage. According to him "father's brother's daughter marriage plays a prominent role in solidifying the minimal lineage as a corporate group in factional struggle" (Barth, 1954). The African societies are markedly different from the Arab societies. The former have better integrated kinship units of corporate character, but the segmentary and fissionary character of the Arabic societies is evident in some African societies as well, although in varying degrees. It has been shown that the localised clan in Tongu is highly segmentary and potentially fissionary. Each major segment of the clan is delicately poised ready to isolate itself from the parent body; but this is quite contrary to the principles of clan kinship and the corporate character of the clan. It is dysfunctional. Intra-clan marriage is related to this structure. Marriage within the clan utilises the affinal ties to cement the diffused kinship ties of the clan. The

traditional function of marriage is not only to unite spouses but also their antecedents in a new network of social relations. Marriage between two segments or agbanuwo fulfils identical function. Instead of bringing about dislocation, it produces the opposite effect of reinforcing existing kinship ties.

In this structure, intra-lineage cousin marriage is a direct extension of intra-clan marriage. The benefits which accrue from linking segments of the clan through affinal ties are now extended to the minimal segments of the clan and to classificatory siblings. This is to be expected in a localised patri-clan where the clan arrogates to itself some of the principal functions of the lineage. Thus parallel cousin marriage in Tongu is predicated upon a clan structure which is sustained by intra-clan marriage.

Among the Ewe-speaking people in-group marriage is not unique to the Tongu. The Anlo, the next-door-neighbours of the Tongu, also have a high incidence of in-group marriage, but without the license to marry from the lineage. Both believe that marriage between persons bound by some kinship ties is likely to be more stable than one without such ties. It has been observed in Anlo that about 70% of couples in first marriages are related to each other by at least one known genealogical connection. Eighty-nine per cent of such marriages have been traced to cross-cousins, but mostly ortho-cousins. Twenty-eight per cent of marriages are intra-clan (Nukunya, 1969). These are high percentages and emphasize the value attached to kin group marriage in Anlo, but they do not go as far as Tongu in-group marriage. The former do not practise parallel cousin marriage.

At the structural level, there are important similarities and differences between Anlo and Tongu. The Tongu clan is localised and performs some of the social and ritual functions characteristic of the lineage. The Anlo clan is also corporate in character but lacks the localised features of the Tongu clan. Whereas the lineage in Anlo is quite articulate in its roles as a corporate kin group, the traditional concept of the clan as a kin group finds more concrete expression in behaviour in Tongu. Both clan groups are segmentary in

character, but the fissionary tendency of the clan is much more in evidence in Tongu than in Anlo. As we have emphasized for Tongu, intra-clan friction and fission go hand in hand with patrilateral parallel cousin marriage.

NOTES

1. The commercial importance of this quarter was lost and rapidly became depopulated when the Tefle bridge was completed in 1966. The 1963 floods had earlier destroyed a number of houses.
2. Note that this is contrary to anthropological theory.
3. The full names of these clan groups are Foyi-Makpoe and Foyi-Avenui. The common prefix, Foyi, is significant.
4. The local expression, togatodivisor i.e. parallel cousin marriage, does not distinguish between first cousins and other categories of cousins, hence the original intention to draw some distinction between categories of cousins was not satisfactorily met by the questionnaire answers. Further researches are in progress.
5. The Tongu bridewealth is small, compared to the cattle cultures. The minimum cash equivalent is about ₵24.00 or £10 (sterling) in contemporary transactions. But this is regarded as the poor man's offer. A groom of average economic standing would offer between ₵40 and ₵60. A relatively wealthy man would offer ₵100.
6. This is also the common rationalization for cross-cousin marriage in the societies which practice it. See Jack & E.N. Goody, "Cross-cousin marriage in Northern Ghana", Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 1966
7. The possibility of Tongu acquiring parallel cousin marriage from Moslems by social contact is very remote indeed. The institution of parallel cousin marriage seems to go much farther back in time than the relatively recent contacts with Moslems.

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